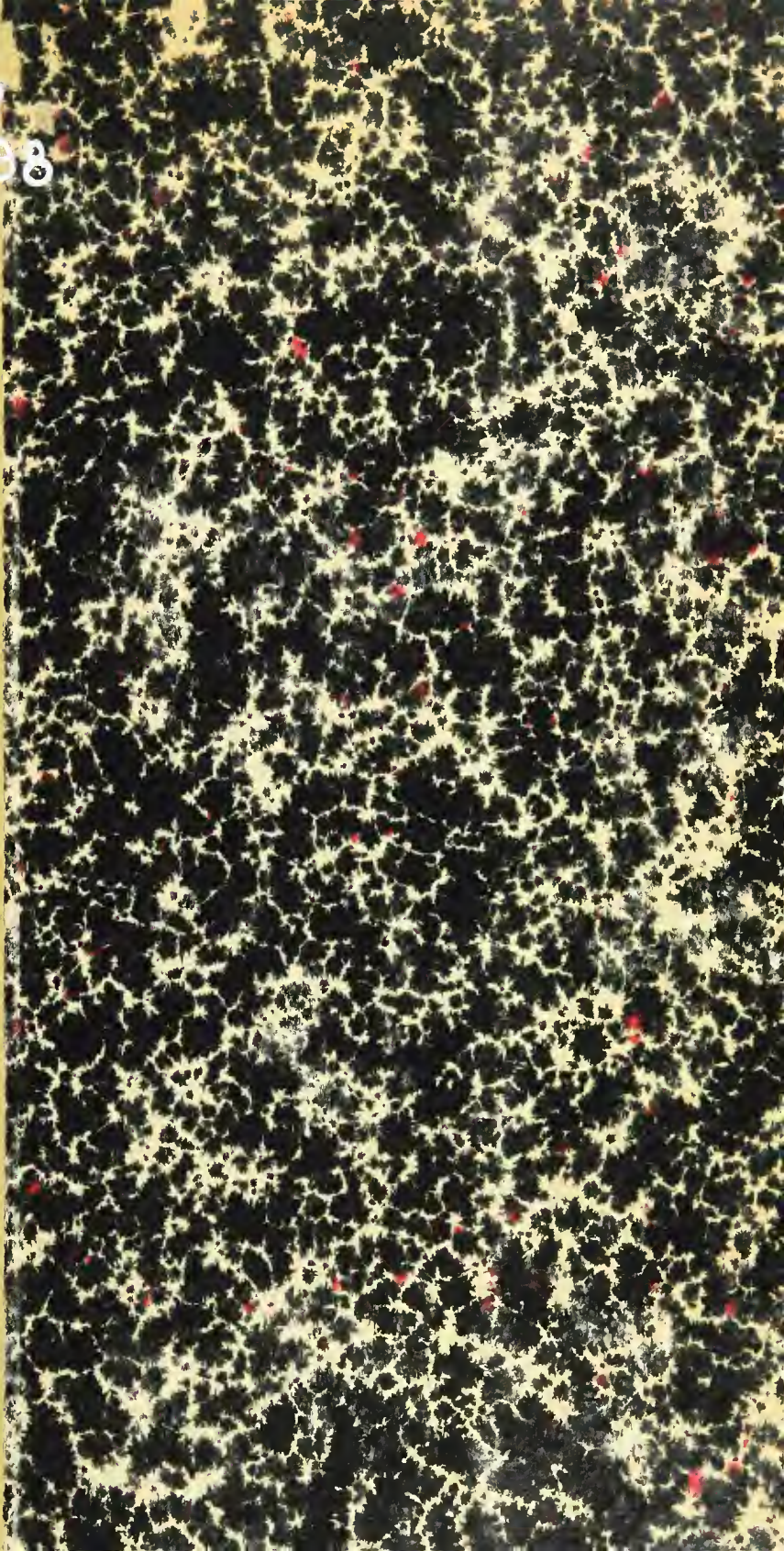
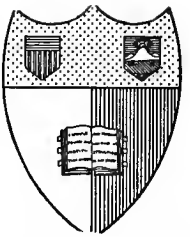
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THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION

# THE AUTHORSHIP OF 'THE TAMING OF A SHREW,' 'THE FAMOUS VICTORIES OF HENRY V' AND THE ADDITIONS TO MARLOWE'S 'FAUSTUS'

BY

H. DUGDALE SYKES

FOR THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION
CHATTO AND WINDUS
ST. MARTIN'S LANE
1920

*Price One Shilling and Sixpence net*

# THE AUTHORSHIP OF 'THE TAMING OF A SHREW,' 'THE FAMOUS VICTORIES OF HENRY V' AND THE ADDITIONS TO MARLOWE'S 'FAUSTUS'

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H. DUGDALE SYKES

READ BEFORE A MEETING OF THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION HELD AT KING'S COLLEGE ON FEBRUARY 28, 1919

# THE AUTHORSHIP OF 'THE TAMING OF A SHREW,' 'THE FAMOUS VICTORIES OF HENRY V' AND THE ADDITIONS TO MARLOWE'S 'FAUSTUS.'

*THE Famous Victories of Henry V* and *The Taming of a Shrew* were both published anonymously, and there is no record of the names of their authors either in Henslowe's diary or anywhere else. Nor has any effort to determine the authorship of either play on internal grounds proved successful. *The Famous Victories* has been conjecturally assigned to the actor Tarlton, but the conjecture is unsupported by any evidence. *The Taming of a Shrew* has been ascribed to Marlowe, to Greene, to Kyd, and even (wholly or in part) to Shakespeare himself, but there are good reasons for rejecting all these ascriptions.

In the following pages I shall endeavour to throw light upon the authorship of both plays, and incidentally upon the authorship of other anonymous dramatic work of the period. I shall set forth my evidence exactly in the way and in the order in which it presented itself to me, beginning with my first clue and showing how it took me from one play to another until, with the aid of a small piece of external evidence, I was led to connect these plays with a dramatist who has hitherto occupied only a very humble place in the annals of Elizabethan dramatic literature.

On first reading *The Taming of a Shrew*, a year or two since, I was struck by the constant appearance of the exclamation 'souns!' in the prose parts. It occurred to me at the time that this might prove a useful clue; that it should be possible to recognize this writer who

found such relief in 'souns,' if there were any other work of his extant. I gave no more thought to the matter until, some time afterwards, I made the acquaintance of *The Famous Victories of Henry V*. The style of the prose seemed strangely familiar. Gradually, as my reading progressed, 'souns' once more obtruded itself upon my notice. Its constant recurrence brought back to my mind *The Taming of a Shrew*, and led me to compare the texts of the two plays. My suspicion that the prose scenes of *A Shrew* and *The Famous Victories* were the work of the same hand grew stronger and stronger as the examination proceeded.

First, I noted that, besides the extraordinary frequency with which the exclamation was used in both plays, in neither was it put into the mouth of one character alone, as a distinctive mark of his vocabulary. In *A Shrew* it is used indiscriminately by Sander, Ferando, Valeria (servant to Aurelius), Tom (Ferando's servant), Polidor's boy, and once also by one of the players in the Induction. It is the same with *The Famous Victories*. Here, though it is commonest in the speeches of the clown Dericke, Henry V himself uses it freely and other speakers occasionally.

Next I observed that 'I warrant you' was a favourite expression in both plays. No doubt it was in common use at this period; but in these plays it is unusually common, appearing eight times in the text of *A Shrew* and five times in *The Famous Victories*. Then there is the phrase 'as passeth'—not a rare one at this time, but still sufficiently uncommon to make it noteworthy that it occurs twice in *A Shrew*:[1]

*Boy.* . . . your master's gone to church to be married already, and there's such cheer *as passeth*.

II, ii, 16.

[1] Referenees to *A Shrew* are by act, scene and line of the 'Shakespeare Classics' reprint, edited by Dr. Boas; for *The Famous Victories of Henry V* I have used the 1598 quarto.

*Sander.* . . . my master has such ado with her *as it passeth.* III, i, 8.

and twice in *The Famous Victories*:

> Faith, my lord, such news *as passeth.* A2 recto.
> . . . for the space of half an hour there was such a bloody fray *as passeth.* B1 recto.

A favourite exclamation in the prose parts of *A Shrew* is 'O brave!':

*Sander.* *O brave*, Sirrah Tom, we must play before A foolish Lord. Ind. i, 83.
*Sly.* A play, Sim: *O brave*, be they my players? Ind. ii, 49.
*Sly.* *O brave*, here's two fine gentlewomen! I, i, 331.
*Sander.* *O brave*, I would I had eat no meat this week! II, ii, 17.

and this appears five times in *The Famous Victories.*

The verb 'to course' in the sense of to beat, or thrash, is distinctly rare—in Elizabethan plays at any rate. In *A Shrew* it is to be found three times. At III, iii, 17, Sander says to Kate:

> the garlic . . . will make your breath stink, and then my master will *course* me for letting you eat it.

and, a few lines later:

> Here comes my master: now he'll *course* you.

The word appears once more in the Epilogue, where the Tapster says to Sly:

> your wife will *course* you for dreaming here tonight.

In *The Famous Victories* is is used by Dick during an altercation with John Cobler:

> . . . 'yfaith, you gray-beard knave, I'll *course* you. B4 verso.

The expression 'let me (him) alone with'—not a familiar one to me—is also common to these plays. 'Well,' says Prince Henry in *The Famous Victories* (A2 verso) 'if the villains come, *let me alone with* them,' and in *A Shrew* (II, ii, 24) Sander, warned by Polidor's boy that his mistress is 'a devil' who will make him forget his eating, she'll 'beat him so,' replies '*Let my master alone with her* for that, for he'll make her tame well enough ere long, I warrant thee'—using much the same words as Ferando himself, in an earlier scene of the play:

> And when our nuptial rites be once performed,
> *Let me alone* to *tame her well enough.* I, i, 139-40.

Other small points of resemblance might be noted, but there are enough tricks of speech here to shew that the same hand has been at work on these dramas. In addition there are two or three curious correspondences of phrasing, the significance of which—trivial though they are—it is impossible to mistake. Sander's 'he'll make her tame well enough, I warrant thee,' is echoed by the Constable of France in *The Famous Victories*. Speaking of Henry V, he says to the Archbishop of Bourges:

> Tush, we will make him as tame as a lamb,
> I warrant you. E1 verso.

When (Induction to *A Shrew*) Sly wakes up to find himself clothed in rich apparel, with servants at hand anxious to gratify his least whim, he exclaims:

> By the mass, I think I am a lord indeed.

In *The Famous Victories* (B4 v.) John Cobler affirms that he is Lord Chief Justice of England; Dericke replies:

> Mass, thou saist true, thou art indeed.

In *A Shrew* the Duke says to his son Aurelius:

> I pray you, sir, who am I? IV, ii, 40.

and in *The Famous Victories* the Judge says to Prince Henry:

> Why, I pray you, my Lord, who am I? B3 verso.

and shortly afterwards John puts the same question to Dericke:

> But, I pray you, who am I? B4 verso.

Moreover, it is interesting to observe that when Sly, in *The Taming of a Shrew* (IV, ii, 45-8), roused by the order of the Duke in the play that Phylotus and Valeria are to be sent to prison, exclaims:

> I say we'll have no sending to prison. . . .
> I tell thee, Sim, we'll have no sending to prison, that's flat! Why, Sim, am not I Don Christo Vary?

he is echoing the sentiments of Prince Henry in *The Famous Victories*, 'Tis enough for me to look into a prison though I come not in myself,' the Prince says to Sir John Oldcastle, 'but here's such ado nowadays, here's prisoning, here's hanging, whipping and the devil and all: but *I tell you*, sirs, *when I am king we will have no such things*.' (C1 recto.)

The connexions between *The Famous Victories* and *A Shrew* being almost without exception confined to the Induction, interludes and prose 'taming' scenes of the latter play, and *The Famous Victories* being obviously the work of one hand, and that a hand one would judge to be incapable of the smooth harmonious lines of the Marlowe-imitating versifier of *A Shrew*, the conclusion that two authors were concerned in *A Shrew* is scarcely to be avoided. For convenience I have spoken of the taming scenes and the induction as prose, though in the old copy they are printed in lines of approximately uniform length to look like verse, just like much of the

text of *The Famous Victories*, which one may search from end to end without finding a decently rhythmical passage. Although in *A Shrew* the work of the two authors seems often closely intermingled, the Marlowe-imitating poet having apparently recast lines written by his less skilful coadjutor, an approximate definition of each author's share would not appear to be difficult. It would give the induction and interludes and all the lively boisterous comedy scenes in prose or prosaic blank verse to the author of *The Famous Victories*, leaving the more polished, but more insipid, verse scenes to the imitator of Marlowe. The appearance of the text suggests that the whole play was in the first instance written by the author of *The Famous Victories*, and that the other author revised it, altogether rewriting many scenes, but leaving others practically untouched.

Having thus decided that *A Shrew* was of dual authorship, and that one of its authors was also the author of *The Famous Victories*, I concluded that there was no hope of throwing any further light upon the identity of the creator of Sander and Sly, *The Famous Victories* being itself the work of an unknown dramatist. The discovery I had made—incomplete though it was—seemed at least so far valuable that it set at rest all conjectures as to the presence of a Shakespearean element in *A Shrew*. But no sooner had I reached the conclusion just stated than my attention was drawn to a feature connected with the text of this play which, though it ultimately led to a further most interesting discovery, at first seemed completely to contradict the view that it was divisible between two authors, one of whom was the author of *The Famous Victories*, and the other the plagiarist from Marlowe. On referring to the list of 'passages from Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* and *Doctor Faustus*' set forth in Dr. Boas's edition of *The Taming of a Shrew*, I was disconcerted to find that one

of the *Doctor Faustus* parallels was in the *prose* part of *A Shrew* that I assigned to the author of *The Famous Victories*. Moreover, in this case the phrasing of *A Shrew* corresponds with the altered text of *Dr. Faustus* printed in 1616, and not that of the 1604 quarto. I quote this passage as it appears in the edition of 1604:

*Wagner.* Sirrah boy, come hither.

*Clown.* How, boy? swouns, boy, I hope you have seen many boys with such pickadevants as I have. Boy quotha.

In the edition of 1616 it stands thus:

*Wagner.* Come hither, sirrah boy.

*Clown.* Boy? O disgrace to my person: Zounds, boy in your face, you have seen many boys with beards, I am sure.

The later version is echoed in *A Shrew*, though it will be noticed that the 'pickadevants' of the 1604 text is retained:

*Boy.* Come hither, sirrah boy.

*Sander.* Boy, O disgrace to my person, souns, boy
Of your face, you have many boys with such
Pickadevants, I am sure, souns, would you
Not have a bloody nose for this? II, ii, 1-4.

That Dr. Boas's presumption that the 1616 additions to *Faustus* date back to a much earlier period is correct, there can be no reasonable doubt. But, obvious as it may seem that the writer of *A Shrew* borrowed this passage from the text of *Dr. Faustus*, there is, in fact, no evidence here that these additions were written prior to the publication of *A Shrew* in 1594. In this instance the correspondence between the two texts is not due to plagiarism. An examination of the prose scenes of the later edition of Marlowe's play soon revealed the real explanation, and it is this: the prose scenes of *A Shrew* and the prose alterations and

additions to the text of *Dr. Faustus* are *the work of the same hand*—the hand (as we have seen) of the author of *The Famous Victories*. Of the truth of this assertion there can be no question. Even the very passage we have just been discussing can be shown to be exactly in this author's style. To prove this, here is an extract from the dialogue between Robin and Dericke in *The Famous Victories*:

*Robin.* Why I see thou art a plain clown.
*Dericke.* Am I a clown, *souns masters*,
Do clowns go in silk apparel?
*I am sure* all we gentlemen clowns in Kent scant go so.
Well, *souns*, you know clowns very well.
A4 recto.

The words are rather different, but it is the same voice. And in the case of *Dr. Faustus* we have evidence of a different and more decisive kind. Those familiar with the 1616 text may remember that in some cases the reviser has altered and much expanded parts of the earlier text; in one instance he has condensed a passage and in others he has added entirely new matter. Bearing in mind what has already been said as to the characteristics of the prose of *A Shrew* and *The Famous Victories*, particular interest attaches to the alterations made by the author of the additions in the phrasing of the 1604 text.[1]

The first alteration made by the reviser is the recasting of the prose dialogue between Wagner and the Clown. It begins with the passage so closely paralleled in *A Shrew*. Next I note that, whereas in the 1604 version, when Wagner promises to teach the Clown to turn himself into 'a dog, or a cat, or a mouse, or a rat, or anything,' the Clown replies:

[1] In Mr. Tucker Brooke's edition of *Doctor Faustus* ('Works of Christopher Marlowe,' Clarendon Press, 1910) the additions are printed in an Appendix (pp. 195-229), apart from the original text. In the citations that follow I have numbered the lines as in his edition.

> How? A Christian fellow to a dog or a cat, a mouse or a rat? no, no, sir.

in the 1616 edition he says:

> A dog, or a cat, or a mouse, or a rat? *O brave* Wagner!

A few lines further on in the earlier quarto, Wagner tells the Clown to keep his eye 'diametarily fixt upon my right heel, with *quasi vestigias nostras insistere*,' and the Clown exclaims:

> God forgive me, he speaks Dutch fustian.

but in the 1616 version this is altered to:

> Well, sir, *I warrant you.*

The next alteration consists in the interpolation (after the scene presenting the seven deadly sins) of an entirely new prose dialogue between Robin and Dick. The speakers are introduced by the Clown, who tells Dick to look after the horses for him, adding:

> I have gotten one of Doctor Faustus' conjuring books, and now we'll have such knavery *as't passes.*

Then a few lines after Dick says to Robin:

> *you had best* leave you foolery, for an my Master come, he'll conjure you 'ifaith.

I note this 'you had best,' because it happens to be a characteristic locution of the prose author of *A Shrew*. In the Induction, the Tapster says to Sly:

> *you had best* be gone,
> And empty your drunken paunch somewhere else.

and, in the Epilogue:

> *you had best* get you home,
> For your wife will course you for dreaming here to-night.

and in another place (III, i, 17) Sander says to the serving-men:

> . . . *you had best* get supper against they come, for they be hard at hand.

Robin's reply to Dick (807-9) is:

> I'll tell thee what, an my Master come here, I'll *clap as fair a pair of horns on's head as e'er thou sawest in thy life.*

In *The Famous Victories* Henry V, speaking of his father, says:

> . . . the breath shall be no sooner out of his mouth, but I will *clap the crown on my head.*
>
> C1 verso.

In Act II, sc. i, of *A Shrew* Kate warns Valeria:

> And see you come no more into this place,
> Lest that I *clap your fiddle on your face.*

and in the Epilogue of the same play Sly says to the Tapster:

> I have had
> The bravest dream tonight, that *ever thou heardest in all thy life.*

Shortly after the speech last quoted, Robin tells Dick that with the aid of the 'conjuring book' they will be able to get any kind of wine they choose at the tavern, without paying for it. Dick greets this joyful news with:

> *O brave!* prithee let's to it presently, for I am as dry as a dog. 823-4

at lines 1000-1 (1604 4to) Mephistophiles says to the Clown:

> Well villains, for your presumption, I transform thee into an ape, and thee into a dog, and so be gone.

in the 1604 edition Robin replies:

> How, into an ape? that's brave.

but in that of 1616:

> *O brave*, an ape?

In the later quarto the entry of the Emperor with Faustus is preceded by a long passage not found in the 1604 text. Here Frederick says to Martino:

> Where is Benvolio?

And Martino replies:

> Fast asleep, *I warrant you.*

A little later on Martino tells Benvolio that the Emperor is at hand, and the latter replies:

> *Well*, go you attend the Emperor: *I am content for this once* to thrust my head out of a window.

Compare:

> *Well*, sirrah, your fair words hath something allayed my choler: *I am content for this once* to put it up and be friends with thee. *A Shrew* II, ii, 50-2

moreover, Benvolio concludes his speech with:

> I have a charm in my head, shall control him [the Devil] as well as the conjurer, *I warrant you.*

In the 1604 edition the Knight's indignation at the discovery that he has horns upon his head is manifested in four lines of bombastic verse. Not once does he use the interjection 'zounds!' But his counterpart, the Benvolio of the 1616 text, three times breaks out into this exclamation:

> O zounds, my head! 1140
> Zounds, doctor, is this your villany? 1146
> Hold, hold, zounds, he'll raise up a kennel of divels
> I think anon. 1158-9

After the entry of Faustus with 'a false head,' Benvolio deals him a blow which he imagines has killed him. Martino asks 'what use shall we put his beard to?' and Benvolio replies:

> We'll sell it to a chimney-sweeper; it will wear out ten birchen brooms, *I warrant you.*

When Faustus rises again, Benvolio exclaims:

> Zounds, the Devil's alive again! 1246

and, in a later passage, when he finds his head has again been decorated with horns:

> *Zouns*, horns again!

None of these speeches occur in the 1604 text.

Next we come to the trick played by Faustus on the horse-courser and the latter's retaliation by pulling off Faustus' leg. In the 1616 version these incidents are treated more briefly than in that of 1604. In both, Faustus, after he has sold the horse, gives the horse-courser a final injunction not to ride it into the water. In the 1604 text the latter replies simply:

> Well, sir, now am I a made man for ever.

and in the revised text this is expanded into:

> *I warrant you*, sir; O joyful day! Now am I a made man for ever.

In the 1616 edition there follows a scene in an inn (not in the 1604 quarto) with a long dialogue between the Clown, Dick, the Horse-courser and a Carter. The conversation is continually interrupted by clamours for drink:

*Dick.* Why, hostess, I say, fetch us some beer. 1212

*Carter.* Some more drink, hostess. 1253

*Clown.* What ho, give's half a dozen of beer here, and be hang'd. 1316

*Horse-courser.* Zouns, fill us some beer, or we'll break all the barrels in the house. 1520-1

Here, we can clearly recognize the voice of the thirsty Sly:

Tapster, I say, fill's a fresh cushion here! Ind. i, 7

Tapster, gi's a little small ale. Ind ii, 10

> Gi's some more drink here; souns, where's the Tapster?
> I, i, 326
> Are they run away, Sim? That's well; then gi's some more drink. IV, ii, 52

In the 1616 version of *Faustus*, as in the earlier version, the horse-courser enters 'all wet' after his adventure in the horse-pond. In the 1604 edition he describes what has happened to him in these words:

> I was no sooner in the middle of the pond, but my horse vanish't away, and I sat upon a bottle of hay, *never so near* drowning in my life. 1156-9

In the 1616 edition this is altered to:

> I, riding my horse into the water, thinking some hidden mystery had been in the horse, I had nothing under me but a little straw, and *had much ado to escape* drowning. 1138-41

The alteration is particularly interesting, because the author of *The Famous Victories* is much addicted to the use of the word 'ado.' In *The Famous Victories* it occurs no fewer than six times. In four passages we have 'such ado' or 'much ado':

> what mean you to sleep
> And such ado in the streets? A4 recto.
> . . . and at the last with much ado they took them. B1 recto.
> . . . and at the last with much ado we stayed them. B2 recto.
> here's such ado nowadays. C1 recto.

and it appears twice in *A Shrew:*

> My master has such ado with her as it passeth. III, i, 8
> Here's more ado than needs. III, v, 43

In the 1616 version the horse-courser relates at length to his companions at the inn the story of the trick

played upon him by Faustus, and all with one voice exclaim:

*O brave* Doctor!

Having traced the hand of this writer who is so free with his 'souns,' 'O brave' and 'I warrant you' in the additions to *Doctor Faustus*, the task of discovering his identity becomes less hopeless than it at first appeared, for now we have a small scrap of external evidence to assist us. On the 22nd November, 1602, Henslowe—so he tells us in his 'Diary'—paid the sum of £4 to William Birde and Samuel Rowley for their 'adicyones in doctor fostes.' Of William Birde's literary performances practically nothing is known, no piece bearing his name having survived. But we do know something about Samuel Rowley. He was the author of a play still extant entitled *When You See Me You Know Me, or The Famous Chronicle History of King Henry the Eight.* This piece was published in 1605 'as it was playd by the high and mighty Prince of Wales his servants,' and it bears Rowley's name on its title-page, 'By Samuel Rowley, servant to the Prince.' To one, at least, of the plays we have been discussing it has a most obvious resemblance. In this *Famous Chronicle History of King Henry VIII*, as in *The Famous Victories of Henry V*, it is the Clown rather than the King, who is the chief figure in the play.[1] A brief examination of the speeches of Will Summers in the Henry VIII play was sufficient to satisfy me that the hand that created him was that of the augmenter of the clowning scenes of *Doctor Faustus*, the creator of Sander in *A Shrew* and Dericke in *The Famous Victories*. Let us first glance through the text

[1] The affinity between these two pieces has been noted by Sir Sidney Lee. 'In 1605 an obscure dramatist, Samuel Rowley, ventured for the first time to bring Henry VIII on the stage as the hero of a chronicle-play or history-drama. The dramatist worked on crude, old-fashioned lines which recall *The Famous Victories of Henry V.*' 'Life of Shakespeare,' 1915, p. 442.

for 'souns,' 'O brave,' and 'I warrant thee.' They are all here:

I'll be wise and say little *I warrant thee.*
1613 4to, B1 recto.
No, no, *I warrant thee*, Jane. B1 verso.
I'll thrust some of you down, *I warrant ye.*
B2 verso.
Up, cousin, fear nothing, the storm's past, *I warrant thee.* C3 verso.
*O brave*, O brave, give me it cousin. C4 recto.
he'll conjure thee, *I warrant thee.* C4 recto.

All these are from the speeches of the clowns, Will Summers and Patch. In the two next it is a Watchman who speaks:

God ye good night and twenty, sir, *I warrant ye.*
D3 recto.
'tis an honest quiet soul, *I warrant ye.* D3 verso.

The 'souns' are from 'Black Will,' the Highwayman:

*Souns*, I am hurt, hold I say! E1 recto.
*Souns*, the moon's a waning harlot. E1 verso.
they shall pay thee well . . . *I warrant thee.*
E1 verso.
*I warrant you*, sir. E1 verso.
I'll bail him, *I warrant thee.* E2 recto.
had we not been parted, I had taught ye a little school play, *I warrant ye.* E3 verso.
*Souns*, King Harry! E3 verso.
*Souns*, I shall to Tyburn presently. E4 recto.
Ye never knew fool a flatterer, *I warrant ye.*
F1 verso.
it should ne'er have been brought for Will, *I warrant ye.*
F3 recto.
'Tis not your fool, my lord, *I warrant ye.*
F3 verso.
*O brave!* he looks like the mirror of knighthood.
G3 recto.
all the horses i' th' town cannot haul him into thy presence, *I warrant thee.* K3 verso.

> Wine . . . able to set a colour in any man's face, *I warrant it.* K3 verso.
> *I warrant you*, Madam. L3 recto.

Notwithstanding the external evidence that associates Rowley with the additions to *Faustus*, it will hardly do to rely entirely upon words and phrases so commonplace as these for our corroborative evidence. But other internal marks are not lacking. For one, we have 'as passes,' already noticed in all the other plays. Here it is twice used by Will Summers:

> but I'll tell thee cousin the rarest trick to be revenged *as't passes.* Sig. C4 recto.
> thou hast made all the court in such a pitiful case *as passes.* C4 verso.

and 'you had best' is here too (Will Summers to the King, Sig. C4 recto):

> *ye had best* be friends with us I can tell you: we'll scare ye out of your skin else.

and 'let me alone':

> *let my cousin Patch and I alone*, and he go boxing. C3 verso.

reminding us of Henry V in *The Famous Victories*, with his:

> Well, if the villains come, let me alone with them.

one may also notice 'hard at hand':

> His majesty is *hard at hand*, my Lord. L1 recto.

since this occurs twice in *A Shrew:*

> my master's *hard at hand* and my new mistress and all. III, i, 2
> you had best get supper ready against they come, for they be *hard at hand*, I am sure, by this time. III, i, 17-19

as well as in the 1616 additions to *Faustus:*

> The sleepy cardinals are *hard at hand.* 1004

But to put the matter beyond doubt it will be enough to compare these passages from the additions to *Faustus:*

> an my Master come, he'll conjure you 'ifaith. 806
> . . . an he follow us, I'll so conjure him as he was never so conjured in his life, I warrant him.
> 960-1 (p. 208)

with this speech of Will Summers, addressed to Patch, Cardinal Wolsey's fool (*When You See Me*, Sig, C4 recto):

> . . . an thou wert the devil himself he'll conjure thee I warrant thee, I would not have such a conjuring for twenty crowns.[1]

or his reply so the Countess of Salisbury's threat to thrust him out of the presence-chamber (B2 verso):

> Thrust me, nay and ye go to thrusting, I'll thrust some of you down, I warrant ye.

The additions to *Doctor Faustus* are written partly in prose and partly in quite respectable blank verse, altogether superior to that of *The Famous Victories*. The prose passages (for the most part sheer buffoonery) having been traced to Rowley, and Birde having also received payment for the additions made in 1602, it is natural to infer that the more decorous verse additions were contributed by Birde. But a division that would allot all the verse to Birde and the prose alone to Rowley would not be correct, for the marks of Rowley's hand are as apparent in the verse as in the prose. One need not look beyond the text of the additions for presumptive evidence of the presence of the same hand in both. I have already drawn attention to the expression 'to clap horns on the head' (ed. Tucker-Brooke, p. 196, line 808) in the prose, and shown cause for assigning it to Rowley.

[1] Cf. Dericke in *The Famous Victories:* '(Give) A Judge a box on the ear, I'll tell thee, John. . . . I would not have done it for twenty shillings.' (B4 recto.)

It appears again not only in another prose passage (p. 214, line 1171) but also in the verse (p. 203, line 885):

> To beat the beads about the friars' pates
> Or *clap huge horns upon the Cardinals' heads.*

But a comparison of the verse additions with the verse of *When You See Me You Know Me* will remove any doubt on the subject. The expanded passages of the revised text of *Faustus* dealing with the visit of Faustus to the Pope at Rome show the same fiercely anti-papal spirit as is manifested in many of the blank verse scenes of *When You See Me*, and they are couched in the same sort of language. In both plays we find repeated allusions to the Pope's 'triple crown' and to 'St. Peter's Chair'; in both we find lines with trochaic endings such as these:

> The which, in state and high solemnity,
> This day is held through Rome and Italy,
> In honour of the Pope's triumphant victory.
> *Faustus*, 1616, 854-6.
>
> In quittance of their late conspiracy
> Against our state and papal dignity.
> *Ibid.* 971-2.
>
> False prelates, for this hateful treachery,
> Curst be your souls to hellish misery.
> *Ibid.* 1055-6.
>
> He sends me thus to greet thy majesty
> With stile and titles of high dignity.
> *When You See Me*, D1 recto.
>
> The villain thinks to smooth his treachery,
> By fawning speeches to our majesty.
> *Ibid.* I1 recto.
>
> You are accused of high conspiracy
> And treason 'gainst his royal majesty.
> *Ibid.* I4 recto.

We get also resemblances of this kind:

> Twelve reverend bishops are sent post to Rome.
> *When You*, etc., A2 recto.

. . . our elected Pope
That on a fury's back came post from Rome.
*Faustus*, 1012-3 (p. 210)

Both which [Cardinals] if Wolsey be made Pope of Rome,
Shall be made famous through all Christendom.
*When You*, etc., A2 verso.

Thou shalt be famous through all Italy,
And honour'd of the German emperor.
*Faustus*, 1067-8 (p. 211)

Note also the trick of placing polysyllabic adjectives ending in 'al' after the nouns that they qualify:

. . . his holiness ascends
Saint Peter's chair and *state pontifical.*
*Faustus*, 891-2 (p. 203)

And by *authority apostolical*
Depose him from his regal government.
*Ibid.*, 945-6 (p. 205)

Make haste again, my good Lord Cardinals,
And take our *blessing apostolical.*
*Ibid.*, 994-5 (p. 206)

We would behold that famous conqueror,
Great Alexander and his paramour,
In their true shapes and *state majestical.*
*Ibid.*, 1083-5 (p. 211)

And compare:

. . . see all our train be set in readineas
That in our *state and pomp pontifical*
We may pass on to grace King Henry's court.
*When You*, etc., A3 recto.

But we shall cross him for't, I doubt it not,
And tread upon his *pomp imperial.*
*Ibid.*, F1 recto.

. . . from his sacred lips
I bring a *blessing apostolical.* *Ibid.*, D1 recto.

The which, without your majesty's consent,
Is *treason capital* against the crown.
*Ibid.*, I1 recto.

Birde's share in the *Faustus* alterations is, I think, confined to those made in the closing scenes of the play.[1] The presence of a hand other than Rowley's is suggested by the frequent use of antithesis, *e.g.*:

> . . . now sword strike home,
> For horns he gave, I'll have his head anon.
> *Faustus*, 1214-5 (p. 215)
> We'll rather die with grief than live with shame.
> 113 (p. 217)
> And so have hope that this my kind rebuke,
> Checking thy body, may amend thy soul.
> 1283-4 (p. 226)
> His store of pleasures must be sauc'd with pain.
> 1364 (p. 227)
> Why weep'st thou? 'tis too late, despair, farewell!
> Fools that will laugh on earth must weep in hell.
> 1429-30 (p. 228)
> To want in hell that had on earth such store.
> 1439 (p. 228)

No similar bent for antithesis is traceable in *When You See Me*, and a habit of this kind once acquired is not easily abandoned.[2]

We have now traced the hand of Samuel Rowley in three plays, and with these and his named play to guide us we get a clear idea of the kind of work that he produced. We find him the sole author of two quasi-historical dramas, in both of which, though separated from one another by at least ten years, the clown is the most important figure, or at least is elevated to a position of equal prominence with that of the monarch the events of whose reign the author professes to portray. We find him

[1] His hand first appears after the stage direction 'Enter Benvolio, Martino, Frederick, and soldiers,' p. 214 of Tucker Brooke's edition of Marlowe's works (Act IV, Sc ii of Robinson's and Cunningham's editions).

[2] Note also that, simultaneously with the appearance of these antitheses, we find rimed couplets interspersed in the blank verse. Rowley employs the terminal couplet in his independent play, but does not mix rime and blank verse lines together.

again in *The Taming of a Shrew* devoting himself chiefly to the sayings and doings of clowns and servants, leaving the serious scenes involving the fortunes of the well-bred ladies and gentlemen of Athens to his assistant. Quite early in his career Rowley must have earned a reputation for his clowns, and it was doubtless for this reason that Henslowe selected him to rewrite and expand the clowning scenes of *Faustus*. That 'tragical history' was evidently too gloomy to please Henslowe and his patrons, and Rowley was the very man to enliven it with such matter as would, to use Heywood's words 'breed in the less capable mirth and laughter,' lest the auditory should be 'dulled with serious courses which are merely weighty and material.'[1] At any rate, quite three-fourths of Rowley's share in the additions are pure clowning: what he provides is more patter for Tom and Dick, more diverting escapades and mishaps of the carter and horse-courser.

We have good reason for inferring that Rowley was regarded by his contemporaries—by contemporary audiences at least—as the comic dramatist *par excellence* of the last decade of the sixteenth century, and the first few years of the seventeenth. We have evidence that he was employed as an improviser of clowning scenes many years before Henslowe set him to work on Marlowe's play. Some time before 1594 he had added to Greene's *Orlando Furioso* in the same way, for his hand is plainly apparent in the earliest extant text published in that year.[2] It

[1] 'It may be objected why, amongst sad and grave histories, I have here and there inserted fabulous tales and jests, savouring of lightness. I answer, I have therein imitated our historical and comical poets that write to the stage; who, lest the auditory should be dulled with serious courses, which are merely weighty and material, in every act present some zany, with his mimic action, to breed in the less capable mirth and laughter: for they that write to all must strive to please all.' Thomas Heywood, 'The General Historie of Women,' 1624.

[2] I have to thank Mr. J. Dover Wilson (who read in manuscript my notes on the other plays dealt with in this paper) for calling my attention to these additions to *Orlando Furioso*.

is again in the comic prose passages that it appears. Rowley's additions to this play are not extensive, but it is surprising to find what a number of marks he has left upon them. There are none in the verse, which is presumably entirely Greene's. The two passages of prose dialogue in the first two acts (Orgalio and Sacripant in I, 1, Orgalio and Orlando in II, 1) doubtless also belong to the original text, since neither bears any definite trace of Rowley. Nor is there any clear suggestion of his hand in the Orgalio and Orlando dialogue with which the third act opens. But immediately after Orgalio's exit[1] we come upon the words 'Enter two clowns' and there follows a prose passage of some twenty lines. This is Rowley's.

The clowns are Tom and Ralph. Tom begins with 'Sirrah Ralph, an thoul't go with me, I'll let thee see the bravest madman that ever thou sawest.' This reminds us of Sly in the Epilogue of *A Shrew*: 'Oh, lord, sirrah, I have heard the bravest dream tonight that ever thou heardest in all thy life.' It is enough at least to raise suspicion. Ralph now tells Tom a story of Orlando coming to his house and stealing the meat roasting before the fire, and Tom observes:

> By my troth, that was brave: but, sirrah, he did so *course* the boys last Sunday; and if ye call him madman he'll . . . tickle your ribs so with his flap of leather that he hath, *as it passeth.*

At this point they spy Orlando, and shout 'madman,' for which they are soundly beaten. Orlando tells them that they must be his soldiers and fight against Medor, and Ralph breaks in with:

> 'Yes, *let me alone with him* for a bloody nose.'

[1] J. C. Collins's edition of Greene, vol. I, p. 247; 'Mermaid' edition, p. 198.

Wherever the clowns Tom and Ralph appear we find the marks of Rowley's hand. In the next scene (III, ii) they come in with the mad Orlando armed 'with spits and dripping pans.' 'Back, soldiers,' cries Orlando, 'look where the enemy is.' 'Captain,' exclaims Tom, 'they have a woman amongst them.' 'What of that?' asks Orlando. 'Why,' says Tom, 'strike you down the men, and then *let me alone* to thrust in the woman.' Tom makes his escape during the fight that ensues, but he re-enters with Orgalio before the close of the scene, disguised as Angelica. Orgalio warns Tom not to laugh. 'No, *I warrant you*,' replies Tom, 'but I think *I had best* go back and shave my beard.' 'My lord,' says Orgalio, introducing him to Orlando, 'here is Angelica,' and Orlando answers:

> Mass, thou saist true, 'tis she indeed.

The next scene in which Tom figures is IV, ii. This time he enters as a fiddler. Orlando, in a passage that reminds us of the scene of the music-lesson in *A Shrew*, breaks his fiddle about his head. The dialogue here is just in the vein of the comic dialogue of *A Shrew*, though it is not easy to point to any definite suggestion of Rowley, apart from a solitary 'Tush, I warrant thee' from Orgalio. There is also one 'souns' from Orlando a little later on, after Melissa's entry:

> Souns, Orgalio, why sufferest thou this old trot to come so nigh me?

The 'I warrant thee' and 'souns' test is, it must be confessed, of little use here. But when Orlando exclaims:

> What? be all the Trojans fled?
> Then give me some drink.

we again hear the voice of the thirsty tinker of *A Shrew:*

> Are they run away, Sim? That's well: then gi's some more drink.

Though Rowley may have given a few touches to some of the later speeches, the rest of the text, after the point where Orlando falls asleep, is substantially Greene's.

There is yet another anonymous play in which Rowley was concerned, and that is the comedy *Wily Beguiled*, first printed in 1606, but probably written several years earlier. Here once more we have a piece almost certainly the work of two authors, scenes of realistic prose being interspersed with passages of incongruously high-flown verse. The prose scenes, in which the chief figures are Gripe, a usurer, Churms, a lawyer, Peter Plod-all and Will Cricket, constitute Rowley's part of the play. It is curious that his partner, whose verse is much like that of the poet of *The Taming of a Shrew*, borrows from Kyd's tragedies almost as flagrantly as the latter does from Marlowe's.[1] This circumstance long ago suggested to my mind the possibility that the verse parts of these plays might be from the same hand. A further examination of the text of *Wily Beguiled* prompted by the discovery of Rowley's authorship of the prose has yielded unexpected confirmation of the accuracy of this conclusion; the evidence in its support being, indeed, so strong that it is scarcely to be resisted. Apart from the general resemblance in the style of the verse, both plays are full of classical allusions, and of classical allusions whose unsuitability to the context in which they are used immediately strikes the reader. They are as out of place as gold lace on a suit of homespun. But this is not all. Many of the allusions are the same, and some are introduced in the same fashion

[1] Compare especially *Wily Beguiled*, 'Hazlitt's Dodsley,' vol. IX, p. 235, line 22, and *The Spanish Tragedy* (Kyd's Works, ed. Boas), I, ii, 83; *W. B.* p. 247, line 9, and *Soliman and Perseda*, III, ii, 27; *W. B.* p. 278, line 5, and *S. T.* I, i, 66; *W. B.* p. 281, 19; *S. T.* II, iii, 7, and *S. & P.* I, ii, 2; *W. B.* p. 282, 18, and *S. & P.* II, ii, 73-4; *W. B.* p. 282, 25, and *S. T.* I, i, 13; *W. B.* p. 286, 5, and *S. T.* III, ii, 3; *W. B.* p. 286, 25-6, and *S. T.* II, iii, 45; *W. B.* p. 287, 1-2, and *S. T.* III, ii, 37-8.

—in identical, or almost identical, words. Nor are the parallelisms between the plays confined to classical allusions, as will be seen from my quotations:

(1) *Wily Beguiled*, Hazlitt-Dodsley IX, p. 248:

*Churms.* He mews her up as men do mew their hawks;
And so restrains her from her Sophos' sight.

*A Shrew*, III, i, 47-8:

*Ferando.* I'll mew her up as men do mew their hawks,
And make her gently come unto the lure.

(2) *Wily Beguiled*, p. 298:

*Churms.* Ere I would wrong my love by one day's absence
I would pass the boiling Hellespont
As once Leander did for Hero's love.

*A Shrew*, III, vi, 35-8:

*Philema.* And should my love, as erst Leander did,
Attempt to pass the boiling Hellespont
For Hero's love, no towers of brass should hold,
But I would follow through those raging floods.

(3) *Wily Beguiled*, p. 306:

*Sophos.* Yet would I pass the burning vaults of Ork[1]
As erst did Hercules to fetch his love.

*A Shrew*, III, vi, 28-9:

*Emelia.* And should my love, as erst did Hercules,
Attempt to pass the burning vaults of hell.

(4) *Wily Beguiled*, p. 313:

*Fortunatus.* Now rests nought but my father's free consent
To knit the knot that time can ne'er untwist.

*Ibid.*, p. 313:
To work his will to knit this Gordian knot.

[1] Cf. 'Orcus' burning gulf.' *Tamburlaine*, Pt. II, ii, 3.

*A Shrew*, III, vi, 72-5:

*Polidor.* And at the church your father and the rest
Do stay to see our marriage rites performed,
And knit in sight of heaven this Gordian knot,
That teeth of fretting time may ne'er untwist.

(5) *Wily Beguiled*, p. 328:

*Sophos.* The love of Lelia is to me more dear,
Than is a kingdom, or the richest crown
That e'er adorned the temples of a king.

*A Shrew*, II, i, 130-2:

*Ferando.* . . . as richly wrought
As was the massy robe that late adorned
The stately legate of the Persian king.

These parallels seem to me to be altogether different in character from those between *The Taming of A Shrew* and the dramas of Marlowe, or between *Wily Beguiled* and those of Kyd, which clearly imply plagiarism. And the inference of identity of authorship is borne out by a comparison of the vocabularies of *A Shrew* and *Wily Beguiled*, which reveals the presence of numbers of words and phrases common to the two plays, as in the following lines, the first in each case being from *Wily Beguiled* and the second from *A Shrew:*

(a) And sound the depth of all their *plotted drifts.* P. 269
By whom we must comprise our *plotted drift.* III, ii, 31

(b) *The senseless trees* do grieve at my laments. P. 277
*The senseless trees* by music have been moved. II, i, 1

(c) That with shrill notes and high resounding voice
Doth pierce the very *caverns of the earth.* P. 278
To undermine the *caverns of the earth.* II, i, 78

(d) That thou forgett'st the *lasting league of love,*
Long since was vow'd betwixt thyself and me. P. 281
We will confirm these *leagues of lasting love.* III, iv, 64

(e) That he may think she *loves him as her life.* P. 286
She's willing, sir, and *loves me as her life.* I, i, 161

(f) What *frantic fit* possess'd my foolish brain? P. 323
. . . vouchsafe
To look on me and leave these *frantic fits.* Ind. ii, 40

(g) Thou *great commander* of the circled orbs. P. 329
. . . the *great commander* of the world. V, i, 126

There is one identity of phrase that deserves special notice. Marlowe in Part I of his *Tamburlaine* (III, ii, 19) refers to the moon as 'Phœbe's silver eye':

> Eternal heaven sooner be dissolv'd
> And all that pierceth Phœbe's silver eye
> Before such hap fall to Zenocrate.

The poet of *A Shrew*, substituting the name 'Polidor' for 'Zenocrate,' repeats the rest of this passage verbatim, except that Marlowe's 'Phœbe's silver eye' becomes 'Phœbus' silver eye.' This *may* be a mistake either on the part of the plagiarist or of his printer, as Dr. Boas assumes, but there is an excellent reason for believing that it is not, or at any rate that the author of *A Shrew* wrote 'Phœbus' silver eye' deliberately, assuming that Marlowe was alluding, not to the moon, but to the sun.[1] The poet of *Wily Beguiled*, who, as we have seen, uses so many of the allusions and phrases found in *A Shrew*, twice speaks of 'Phœbus' silver eye,' and—inappropriate as the adjective 'silver' becomes in its altered application—on neither occasion does he allow us to remain in any doubt that he is referring to the sun. In one passage (p. 265) he has:

> I swear by Sol, fair Phœbus' silver eye.

and in another (p. 310):

> Now Phœbus' silver eye is drench'd in western deep,
> And Luna 'gins to show her splendent rays.

[1] Strangely enough the 1605 edition of Marlowe's play also substitutes 'Phœbus' for 'Phœbes.'

No doubt the discovery of connexions between the prose parts of *Wily Beguiled* and *A Shrew*, and also between the verse of these plays, seems to favour the conclusion that the complete text of both plays is the work of a single author. I am, however, convinced that when these plays are considered in the light of the evidence of Rowley's authorship of *The Famous Victories* and *When You See Me* such a conclusion is impossible.

So far as Rowley's authorship of the prose scenes of *Wily Beguiled* is concerned, I was first led to suspect this by the constant occurrence of 'I warrant thee' and 'I warrant ye.' It is even commoner here than in any of the other plays, occurring altogether twenty times—always in the prose. 'O brave' is absent, but 'Zounds' is introduced ten times. During the course of a dialogue between the Nurse and the scholar Sophos (Hazlitt-Dodsley, vol. IX, p. 284) the former, speaking of her mistress Lelia, says to Sophos, 'she leads such a life for you, *it passes*.' There are links with the prose of *A Shrew* just of the same sort as those already noted in *The Famous Victories*. 'I swear . . . that I could get her as soon as he myself,' says Will Cricket in *Wily Beguiled* (p. 244), speaking of Peter Plod-all's wooing of Lelia, 'And if I had not a month's mind in another place, *I would have a fling at her*, that's flat.' In *A Shrew* (II, 2) Sander, speaking of Emelia, says to Polidor's boy, 'If I thought thy master would not have her, *I'd have a fling at her* myself.' 'I'll see soon whether 'twill be a match or no,' Sander continues, 'and it will not, *I'll set the matter hard for myself, I warrant thee*'; and in *Wily Beguiled* Robin Goodfellow advises Peter Plod-all how to get into Lelia's good graces (p. 256): 'Tell her thou hast a good stock, some hundred or two a year, and *that will set her hard, I warrant thee*.'

At another point in the play (p. 270) Mother Midnight enters to find Peg alone with Will Cricket.

'What mak'st thou here in this twatter light?' she says to Peg, 'I think thou'rt in a dream; I think the fool haunts thee.' In a voice whose accents have by this time become familiar, Will Cricket replies:

> Zounds, fool in your face! Fool? O monstrous intitulation! Fool? O disgrace to my person! Zounds, fool not me, for I cannot brook such a cold rasher, I can tell thee.

It can scarcely be necessary to give further proof of Rowley's hand, but it is perhaps worth adding that when Will Cricket acknowledges Mother Midnight's attempt to soothe his injured feelings with

> Well, your good words have something laid my choler,

he uses all but exactly the same words as those with which, in *A Shrew*, Polidor's boy brings his quarrel with Sander to a close (II, ii, 50-1):

> Well, sirrah, your fair words hath something alaid my choler.

How does the attribution of this fresh work to Rowley fit in with what is already known of his career? It dates the commencement of his dramatic authorship back to a period certainly eight, possibly twelve or thirteen, years before we find any mention of him as a playwright. There is no record of him as such in Henslowe's diary until December, 1601, when he and Birde were paid £6 for a play called *Judas*, no longer extant, though his name occurs in the diary more than four years before this, on the 3rd August, 1597, as witness of a loan by the playhouse manager to 'John Helle, the clown.' *The Famous Victories*, though not printed before 1598, was entered in the Stationers' Register on the 14th May, 1594, the first performance

recorded by Henslowe being on the 28th November, 1595. It was acted by the Admiral's men, the company to which Rowley belonged. It is stated that Tarlton acted the part of Dericke,[1] and Tarlton died in September, 1588. *The Taming of a Shrew* was entered in the Register just twelve days before *The Famous Victories*, on the 2nd May, 1594, and performed in the following month by the Admiral's and Chamberlain's men. The play was printed in the same year 'as it was sundry times acted by the Earl of Pembroke his servants,' and it is usually assumed that it was from them that the Admiral's and Chamberlain's men acquired it, since it is known that it in September, 1593, Pembroke's company was in such straits that it was driven to pawn its wardrobe. There is presumptive evidence that *A Shrew* was written in or about 1590, since the author of the verse parts, while borrowing freely from the two parts of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* (c. 1587-8) and from *Doctor Faustus* (c. 1589), makes no use of his later works, *The Jew of Malta* and *Edward II*, probably composed in 1590 and 1591 respectively. The earliest extant edition of *Orlando Furioso* is also dated 1594, but though there is no record of any earlier edition, the play was entered in the Register on the 7th December, 1593, and Henslowe records a performance by the combined Admiral's and Strange's companies on the 21st February, 1592. Moreover, in 1592, the author of *The Defence of Conny-Catching* taunted Greene with having sold the play twice over, first to the Queen's players for twenty nobles, and then, when they were in the country, to the Admiral's men for a like sum. It was no doubt for the Admiral's men that Rowley altered it, in or shortly after 1592.

[1] The authority for the statement is *Tarlton's Jests* (1611) where ('An excellent jest of Tarlton's suddenly spoken') it is recorded that 'At the Bull at Bishops-gate was a play of Henry the fift, wherein the Judge was to take a box on the eare' and that 'because he was absent that should take the blow, Tarlton himselfe (ever forward to please) tooke upon him to play the same Judge, besides his owne part of the Clowne.'

*Wily Beguiled* is probably rather later, for the verse seems to show the influence of Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda* (c. 1592). The character both of the prose and of the blank verse suggests a date before the end of the sixteenth century, say 1595 or a year or two earlier.[1] Next comes the first dramatic work of Rowley's mentioned in Henslowe's diary, the non-extant *Judas*, which (as already stated) was written in conjunction with Birde and completed in December, 1601, In September, 1602, this was followed by another lost play recorded by Henslowe, *Joshua*, for which Rowley received £7. Two months later we have the additions to Marlowe's *Faustus*, in the composition of which Rowley was again assisted by Birde. Finally we come to the sole play published under Rowley's name, *When You See Me You Know Me*, printed, as we have seen, in 1605, and obviously written not long after the *Faustus* additions. The chronological order of Rowley's writings for the stage would therefore appear to be as under, it being understood that the dates are in some instances conjectural only:

| | |
|---|---|
| *The Famous Victories of Henry V* . . . . | c. 1588 |
| *The Taming of a Shrew* (with an unknown author) | c. 1590 |
| Additions to Greene's *Orlando Furioso* . . | 1592 |
| *Wily Beguiled* (with unknown author) . . | c. 1595 |
| *Judas* (with Birde; not extant) . . . . | 1601 |
| *Joshua* (not extant) . . . . . | 1602 |
| Additions to Marlowe's *Faustus* (with Birde) . | 1602 |
| *When You See Me You Know Me* . . . | c. 1604 |

I do not include in this list *The Noble Soldier* (printed in 1634 as by S. R.) because I doubt the correctness of its attribution to Rowley, a close scrutiny of its

[1] It is not necessary to assume that the Lelia-Sophos dialogue beginning 'In such a night did Paris win his love' (Hazlitt-Dodsley, p. 314) is an imitation of the Lorenzo-Jessica dialogue in *The Merchant of Venice*, V, i. Shakespeare may have been the borrower, or the two passages may derive from a eommon source.

text having failed to reveal any suggestion of its author's identity with the author of *When You See Me* or of the work here assigned to Rowley on internal grounds.

The years that elapsed between Rowley's early work on *The Taming of a Shrew* and *The Famous Victories of Henry V* on the one hand, and his additions to *Faustus* and the Henry VIII play on the other, show a great improvement in his literary technique. Nevertheless, Sander in *The Taming of a Shrew* is far his most valuable legacy to the English stage. It was clearly as a creator of clowns that Rowley excelled, but neither Will Cricket nor Will Summers—still less Dericke or the tiresome buffoons that disfigure Marlowe's play—are worthy to rank with Sander. But for Sander we should have had no Grumio. And it is well to remember that it is to the hand that created Sander, almost as much as to Shakespeare's, that we owe *The Taming of the Shrew*. 'All the force and humour alike of character and situation,' to quote the words of Swinburne,[1] 'belong to Shakespeare's eclipsed and forlorn precursor; he [Shakespeare] has added nothing; he has tempered and enriched everything,' and he continues: 'that the luckless author of the first sketch is like to remain a man as nameless as the deed of the witches in Macbeth, unless some chance or caprice of accident should suddenly flash favouring light on his now impersonal and indiscoverable individuality, seems clear enough when we take into account the double and final disproof of his imaginary identity with Marlowe which Mr. Dyce has put forward. . . . He is a clumsy and coarse-fingered plagiarist from that poet, and his stolen jewels of expression look so grossly out of place in the homely setting of his usual style that they seem transmuted from real to sham. On the other hand he is of all

[1] 'A Study of Shakespeare,' p. 124.

the pre-Shakespeareans known to us incomparably the truest, the richest, the most powerful and original humorist; one indeed without a second on that ground for "the rest are nowhere."'

If I am right, the eclipsed and forlorn precursor of Shakespeare to whom Swinburne has paid so handsome a tribute is Samuel Rowley; it is he who is the powerful and original humorist, the 'man of real if rough genius for comedy,' but he is not the clumsy plagiarist from Marlowe. On reflection it is indeed rather strange that it should have been supposed that qualities so diverse could be united in one person—that the same man should have been at once an original humorist and a servile plagiarist, a writer of rough realistic prose, and of polished artificial verse.

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